THE BISHOP of SARUM OF SUBMISSION TO THE SUPREAM AUTHORITY.

AN

ENQUIRY

Into the Measures of

SUBMISSION

TO THE

SUPREAM AUTHORITY:

And of the *Grounds* upon which it may be *Lawful* or neceſſary for *Subjects*, to defend their *Religion*, *Lives* and *Liberties*.

WRIT,

At the time of His Majeſty's coming to *England*, in the Year 1688. and now Reprinted, with a Preface.

By the Right Reverend Father in God,

GILBERT Lord Biſhop of SARUM.

LONDON,

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THE PREFACE.

I *See there is not any one thing in which a Man is not liable to be miſtaken, at ſome time or other: For I thought I had aſſerted* Publick Liberty *upon ſo many eminent Occaſions, that how much ſoever I had been blamed and attackt on the one hand, I was ſafe on the other, from the imputations of deſigning to ſubvert it. But ſince all things happen alike to all Men, I find I am charged with this, which of all other things is the furtheſt from my thoughts.*

I writ a Paſtoral Letter *ſome years ago, for the uſe of the* Clergy *of my Dioceſe, in which I thought it fitting, to ſet the grounds, upon which* Allegiance *was due to the Pre-*

ſent Government before them, according to the various Hypotheſes, in which Lawyers and Caſuiſts had treated the matter: that ſo men of different Sentiments, as to ſome particular Opinions, might all ſee good Reaſons, tho by various Premiſes, for arriving at the ſame Concluſion, of Swearing and paying Allegiance to their Mageſties. One of theſe was in caſe they were acknowledged to be Uſurpers, even in bar to a poſitive Law of God: and yet, it were a hard Conſtruction to infer from thence, That I judge them ſuch. Another was, in caſe they had aſſumed the Royal dignity, upon the late King's withddrawing; as K. Henry the VII. did. This according to the Opinion of many Great Patriots and Eminent Lawyers, was then thought the beſt method; I was of another mind: Yet, I thought this had ſo much weight in it, that it was not to be paſſed over; ſo I put it among the other Topicks, as a thing that might have founded a Title in Law. But as I only mentioned a Conqueſt of the Late King (for as to a Conqueſt of the Nation, I ever abhorred the thought of it) ſo in that very Page in which this is (pag. 21.) where I ſtate my

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own Senſe of the matter, I put all upon the Determination *and* Declaration *made by the* Convention. *And becauſe* (pag. 27.) *I mention another Paper, that I had writ, relating to this Subject, in which I had opened my Senſe of thoſe Points more fully: I have now directed the Reprinting the* Enquiry into the Meaſures of Obedience, *it being that Paper which was then ſo well known, it was not neceſſary to quote it more particularly. It is in That, and in the* Paſtoral Letter *it ſelf, that my Senſe of thoſe matters is ſo fully explained, that I do not think it poſſible for any who will give themſelves the trouble to read them, to retain any bad impreſſions, but that I ſhall be clear in the thoughts of Thoſe for whom I will ever have all poſſible Eſteem and Reſpect.*

AN

AN ENQUIRY Into the Measures of SUBMISSION TO THE SUPREAM AUTHORITY, &c.

THIS *Enquiry* cannot be Regularly made, but by taking in the first place, a true and full view of the nature of *Civil Society*, and more particularly of the nature of *Supream Power*, whether it is lodged in one or more Persons.

I. It is certain, that the *Law of Nature* has put no difference nor subordination among Men, except it be that of *Children* to *Parents*, or of *Wives* to their *Husbands*; so that with Relation to the Law of Nature, all Men are born free: and this Liberty must still be supposed entire, unless so far as it is limited by Contracts, Provisions and Laws. For a Man can either bind himself to be a Servant, or sell himself to be a Slave, by which he becomes in the power of another, only so far as it was provided by the Contract: since all that Liberty which was not expresly given away, remains still entire: so that the plea for Liberty always proves it self, unless it appears that it is given up or limited by any special agreement.

II. It is no leſs certain, that as the light of Nature has planted in all men a natural principle of the love of Life, and of a deſire to preſerve it; ſo the common principles of all religion agree in this, that God having ſet us in this World, we are bound to preſerve that being, which he has given us, by all juſt and lawful ways. Now this Duty of Self preſervation, is extended in inſtances of two ſorts; the one are, in the reſiſting of Violent Aggreſſors; the other are the taking of juſt revenges of thoſe, who have invaded us ſo ſecretly, that we could not prevent them, and ſo Violently that we could not reſiſt them: in which caſes the principle of ſelf-preſervation warrants us, both to recover what is our own, with juſt damages, and alſo to put ſuch unjuſt perſons out of a Capacity of doing the like Injuries any more, either to our ſelves, or to any others. Now in theſe Inſtances of ſelf-preſervation, this difference is to be obſerved; that the firſt cannot be limited, by any ſlow forms, ſince a preſſing danger requires a vigorous repulſe; and cannot admit of delays; whereas the ſecond, of taking Revenges, or Reparations, is not of ſuch haſt, but that it may be brought under Rules and Forms.

III. The true and Original Notion of *Civil Society* and *Government* is, that it is a Compromiſe made by ſuch a Body of Men, by which they reſign up the right of demanding reparations, either in the way of Juſtice, againſt one another, or in the way of War, againſt their Neighbour; to ſuch a ſingle perſon, or to ſuch a Body of Men as they think fit to truſt with this

this. And in the management of this *Civil Society*, great diſtinction is to be made between the power of making Laws for the Regulating the Conduct of it, and the power of Executing thoſe Laws: The *Supream Authority* muſt ſtill be ſuppoſed to be lodged with thoſe who have the *Legiſlative Power* reſerved to them; but not with thoſe who have only the *Executive*; which is a plain *Truſt*, when it is ſeparated from the *Legiſlative Power*; and all *Truſts*, by their nature import, that thoſe to whom they are given, are accountable, even though it ſhould not be expreſly ſpecified in the words of the *Truſt* it ſelf.

IV. It cannot be ſuppoſed, by the principles of Natural Religion, that God has Authorized any one *Form of Government*, any other way than as the general Rules of Order, and of Juſtice, oblige all Men not to ſubvert Conſtitutions, nor diſturb the peace of Mankind or invade thoſe Rights with which the Law might have veſted ſome perſons; for it is certain, that as private Contracts lodge or tranſlate private Rights; ſo the *Publick Laws* can likewiſe lodge ſuch Rights Prerogatives and Revenues, in thoſe, under whoſe Protection they put ſelves, in ſuch a manner, that they may come to have as good a Title to theſe, as any private Perſon can have to his Property: ſo that it becomes an Act of high Injuſtice and Violence, to invade theſe: which is ſo far a greater ſin than any ſuch actions would be, againſt a private Perſon, as the Publick Peace and Order is preferrable to all private Conſiderations whatſoever. So that in truth, the principles of *Natural Religion*, give thoſe that are in Authority, no power at all, but they do only ſecure them in the poſſeſſion of that which is

theirs by Law. And as no Considerations of Religion can bind me to pay another more than I indeed owe him, but do only bind me more strictly to pay what I owe; so the Considerations of Religion do indeed bring *Subjects* under stricter Obligations, to pay all due Allegiance and Submission to their *Princes*, but they do not at all extend that Allegiance further than the Law carries it. And though a Man has no divine right to his property, but has acquired it by humane means, such as Succession, or Industry, yet he has a security for the injoyment of it, from a Divine Right; so though *Princes* have no immediate warrants from Heaven, either for their Original Titles, or for the extent of them, yet they are secured in the possion of them by principles and Rules of *Natural Religion.*

V. It is to be Considered, that as a private Person, can bind himself to another mans service, by different degrees, either as an Ordinary Servant for Wages, or as one appropriate, for a longer time as an Apprentice, or by a total giving himself up to another, as in the case of Slavery: In all which cases the General name of *Master* may be equally used, yet the degrees of his power are to be judged by the nature of the Contract; so likewise Bodies of Men can give themselves up in different degrees, to the Conduct of others: and therefore though all those may carry the same name of *King*, yet every ones power is to be taken by the measures of that Authority which is lodged in him, and not from any general Speculations founded on some Equivocal terms, such as *King*, *Soveraign*, or *Supream.*

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VI. It is certain, that God, as the Creator and Governour of the World, may ſet up whom he will, to rule over other Men: But this declaration of his Will, muſt be made evident by Prophets, or other Extraordinary Men ſent of him, who have ſome manifeſt proofs of the Divine Authority that is committed to them, on ſuch occaſions, and upon ſuch perſons declaring the Will of God, in favour of any others, that Declaration is to be ſubmitted to, and obeyed. But this pretence of a divine Delegation, can be carried no further than to thoſe who are thus expreſly marked out, and is unjuſtly claimed by thoſe who can prove no ſuch Declaration to have been ever made in favour of them, or their Families. Nor does it appear reaſonable to conclude from their being in poſſeſſion, that it is the Will of God that it ſhould be ſo, this juſtifies all Uſurpers when they are ſucceſsful.

VII. The meaſures of *Power*, and by conſequence of *Obedience*, muſt be taken from the expreſs Law of any State, or Body of Men from the Oaths that they ſwear, or from Immemorial Preſcription, and a long Poſſeſſion, which both give a Title, and in long tract of time make a bad one become good, ſince Preſcription when it paſſes the memory of Man, and is not diſputed by any other Pretender, gives by the common ſenſe of all Men a juſt and good Title: ſo upon the whole matter, the degrees of all Civil Authority, are to be taken either from expreſs Laws, immemorial Cuſtoms, or from particular Oaths, which the Subjects ſwear to their Princes:

this being ſtill to be laid down for a Principle, that in all the diſputes between *Power* and *Liberty*, *Power* muſt always be proved, but *Liberty* proves it ſelf; the one being founded only upon poſitive Law; and the other upon the Law of Nature.

VIII. If from the general Principles of Humane Society, and Natural Religion, we carry this matter to be examined by the Scriptures, it is clear that all the paſſages that are in the *Old Teſtament*, are not to be made uſe of in this matter, of neither ſide. For as the Land of *Canaan*, was given to the *Jews* by an immediate grant from Heaven, ſo God reſerved ſtill this to himſelf, and to the Declarations that he ſhould make from time to time, either by his Prophets, or by the Anſwers that came from the Cloud of Glory that was between the Cherubims, to ſet up Judges or Kings over them, and to pull them down again as he thought fit. Here was an expreſs Delegation made by God, and all that was done in that Diſpenſation, either for or againſt Princes, is not to be made uſe in any other State, that is founded on another Bottom and Conſtitution, and all the expreſſions in the *Old Teſtament* relating to the *Kings*, ſince they belong to perſons that were immediately deſigned by God, are without any ſort of reaſon applied to thoſe, who can pretend to no ſuch deſignation, neither for themſelves nor for their Anceſtors.

IX. As for the *New Teſtament*, it is plain, that there are no rules given in it, neither for *the forms of Government* in general, nor for the degrees of any one form in

in particular, but the general Rules of Juſtice, Order and Peace, being Eſtabliſhed in it upon higher motives, and more binding conſiderations, than ever they were in any other Religion whatſoever, we are moſt ſtrictly bound by it, to obſerve the Conſtitution in which we are; and it is plain, that the Rules ſet us in the Goſpel, can be carried no further. It is indeed clear from the *New Teſtament*, that the *Chriſtian Religion* as ſuch, gives us no grounds to defend or propagate it by force. It is a Doctrine of the Croſs, and of Faith, and Patience under it: and if by the order of Divine Providence, and of any Conſtitution of Government, under which we are born, we are brought under ſufferings, for our profeſſing of it, we may indeed retire and fly out of any ſuch Country, if we can; but if that is denyed us, we muſt then according to this Religion, ſubmit to thoſe ſufferings under which we may be brought, conſidering that God will be glorified by us in ſo doing, and that he will both ſupport us under our ſufferings, and gloriouſly reward us for them.

This was the ſtate of the *Chriſtian Religion*, during the three firſt *Centuries*, under Heathen *Emperours*, and a Conſtitution in which *Paganiſm* was Eſtabliſhed by Law. But if by the Laws of any Government, the *Chriſtian Religion*, or any form of it, is become a part of the Subjects *Property*, it then falls under another conſideration, not as it is a *Religion*, but as it is become one of the principal rights of the *Subjects*, to believe and profeſs it: and then we muſt judge of the Invaſions made on that, as we do of any other Invaſion, that is made on our other *Rights*.

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X. All the paſſages in the *New Teſtament* that relate to *Civil Government*, are to be Expounded as they were truly meant, in oppoſition to that falſe Notion of the *Jews*, who believed themſelves to be ſo immediately under the Divine Authority, that they could not become the Subjects of any other Power; particularly of one that was not of their Nation, or of their Religion: therefore they thought they could not be under the *Roman* Yoke, nor bound to pay Tribute to *Cæſar*, but judged that they were only ſubject out of Fear, by reaſon of the Force that lay on them, but not *for Conſcience ſake*: and ſo in all their diſperſions, that both at *Rome* and elſewhere, they thought they were *Gods Freemen*, and made uſe of this pretended *liberty as a cloak of Maliciouſneſs*. In oppoſition to all which, ſince in a courſe of many years, they had asked the protection of the *Roman* Yoke, and were come under their Authority, our Saviour ordered them to continue in that, by his ſaying, *Render to Cæſar that which is Cæſars*; and both St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, and St. *Peter* in his General *Epiſtle*, have very poſitively condemned that pernicious maxim; but without any formal Declarations made of the Rules or Meaſures of *Government*. And ſince both the *People* and *Senate* of *Rome* had acknowledged the power that *Auguſtus* had indeed violently Uſurped, it became Legal when it was thus ſubmitted to, confirmed both by the *Senate* and *People*: and it was eſtabliſhed in his Family by long Preſcription, when thoſe *Epiſtles* were writ: ſo that upon the whole matter, all that is in the *New Teſtament* upon this ſubject, imports no more, but that *all Chriſtians* are bound to acquieſe

acquiesce in the Government, and submit to it, according to the Constitution that is settled by Law.

XI. We are then at last brought to the Constitution of our *English Government*: so that no general Considerations from Speculations about *Soveraign Power*, nor from any Passages either of the *Old* and *New Testament*, ought to determine us in this matter; which must be fixed from the Laws and Regulations that have been made among us. It is then certain, that with relation to the executive Part of the Government, the Law has lodged that singly in the King; so that the whole Administration of it is in him: but the *Legislative Power* is lodged between the King and the Two Houses of Parliament; so that the Power of making and repealing Laws, is not singly in the King, but only so far as the Two Houses concur with him. It is also clear, that the King has such a determined Extent of Prerogative, beyond which he has no Authority: As for instance, if he levies Money of his People, without a Law impowring him to it, he goes beyond the Limits of his Power, and asks that to which he has no Right: so that there lies no Obligation on the Subject to grant it. And if any in his Name use Violence for the obtaining it, they are to be looked on as so many Robbers, that invade our Property, and they being violent Aggressors, the Principle of Self-preservation seems here to take place, and to warrant as violent a Resistance.

XII. There is nothing more evident, than that *England* is a free Nation, that has its Liberties and Properties reserved to it, by many positive and express Laws: if then we have a Right to our Property, we must likewise be supposed to have a Right to preserve

it: for those Rights are by the Law secured against the Invasions of the Prerogative, and by consequence we must have a Right to preserve them against those Invasions. It is also evidently declared by our Law, that all Orders and Warrants, that are issued out in opposition to them, are null of themselves; and by consequence, any that pretend to have Commissions from the King, for those Ends, are to be considered as if they had none at all; since those Commissions being void of themselves, are indeed no Commissions in the Construction of the Law; and therefore those who act in virtue of them, are still to be considered as private Persons, who come to invade and disturb us. It is also to be observed, that there are some Points that are justly disputable and doubtful, and others that are so manifest, that it is plain, that any Objections that can be made to them, are rather forced Pretences, than so much as plausible Colours. It is true, if the Case is doubtful, the Interest of the publick Peace and Order, ought to carry it; but the Case is quite different when the Invasions that are made upon *Liberty* and *Property*, are plain and visible to all that consider them.

XIII. The main and great Difficulty here, is, That though our Government does indeed assert the *Liberty of the Subject*, yet there are many express Laws made, that lodg the *Militia* singly in the King, that make it plainly unlawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, or any commissioned by him: And these Laws have been put in the form of an Oath, which all that have born any Employment, either in Church or State, have sworn; and therefore those Laws, for the assuring our Liberties, do indeed

indeed bind the King's Conſcience, and may affect his Miniſters: yet ſince it is a Maxim of our Law, that the *King can do no Wrong*, theſe cannot be carried ſo far as to juſtify our taking Arms againſt him, be the Tranſgreſſions of Law ever ſo many and ſo manifeſt. And ſince this has been the conſtant *Doctrine of the Church of* England, it will be a very heavy Imputation on us, if it appears, That though we held thoſe Opinions, as long as the Court and the Crown have favoured us, yet as ſoon as the Court turns againſt us, we change our Principles.

XIV. Here is the true Difficulty of this whole Matter, and therefore it ought to be exactly conſidered: 1. All general Words, how large ſoever, are ſtill ſuppoſed to have a tacit Exception, and reſerve in them, if the Matter ſeems to require it. Children are commanded to obey their Parents in *all things*: Wives are declared by the Scripture to be ſubject to their Husbands in *all things, as the Church is unto Chriſt*: And yet how comprehenſive ſoever theſe Words may ſeem to be, there is ſtill a Reſerve to be underſtood in them; and though by our Form of Marriage, the Parties ſwear to one another *till Death them do part*, yet few doubt but that this Bond is diſſolved by Adultery, though it is not named; for odious things ought not to be ſuſpected, and therefore not named upon ſuch Occaſions: But when they fall out, they carry ſtill their own force with them. 2. When there ſeems to be a Contradiction between two Articles in the Conſtitution, we ought to examin which of the two is the moſt evident, and the moſt important, and ſo we ought to fix upon it; and then we muſt give ſuch an accommodating Senſe to that which ſeems to contradict it, that ſo we

may reconcile those together. Here then are two seeming Contradictions in our Constitution: The one is the *Publick Liberty* of the Nation; the other is the Renouncing of all *Resistance*, in case that were invaded. It is plain, that our *Liberty* is only a thing that we enjoy at the King's Discretion, and during his Pleasure, if the other against all Resistance is to be understood according to the utmost Extent of the Words. Therefore since the chief Design of our whole Law, and of all the several Rules of our Constitution, is to secure and maintain our *Liberty*, we ought to lay that down for a Conclusion, that it is both the most plain and the most important of the two: And therefore the other Article against *Resistance*, ought to be so softned, as that it do not destroy this. Since it is by a Law, that *Resistance* is condemned, we ought to understand it in such a sense as that it does not destroy all other Laws: And therefore the Intent of this Law, must only relate to the *Executive Power*, which is in the King, and not to the *Legislative*, in which we cannot suppose that our Legislators, who made that Law, intended to give up that, which we plainly see they resolved still to preserve entire, according to the Ancient Constitution. So then, the not resisting the King, can only be applied to the *Executive Power*, that so upon no pretence of ill Administrations in the Execution of the Law, it should be lawful to resist him; but this cannot with any reason be extended to an Invasion of the *Legislative Power*, or to a total *Subversion of the Government*. For it being plain, that the Law did not design to lodge that Power in the King, it is also plain, that it did not intend to secure him in it, in case he should set about it.

The Law mentioning the King, or those commissionated

ſionated by him, ſhews plainly, that it only deſigned to ſecure the King in the Executive Power: for the word *Commiſſion* neceſſarily imports this, ſince if it is not according to Law, it is no Commiſſion; and by conſequence, thoſe who act in Vertue of it, are not commiſſionated by the King in the Senſe of the Law. The *King* likewiſe imports a Prince clothed by Law with the Regal Prerogative; but if he goes to ſubvert the whole Foundation of the Government, he ſubverts that by which he himſelf has his Power, and by conſequence he annuls his own Power; and then he ceaſes to be King, having endeavoured to deſtroy that, upon which his own Authority is founded.

XV. It is acknowledged by the greateſt Aſſertors of Monarchial Power, that in ſome Caſes a King may fall from his Power, and in other Caſes, that he may fall from the Exerciſe of it. His Deſerting his People, his going about to enſlave, or ſell them to any other, or a furious going about to deſtroy them, are in the opinion of the moſt Monarchial Lawyers, ſuch Abuſes, that they naturally diveſt thoſe that are guilty of them, of their whole Authority. *Infancy* or *Phrenzy* do alſo put them under the Guardianſhip of others. All the Crowned Heads of *Europe* have, at leaſt ſecretly, approved of the putting the late King of *Portugal* under a Guardianſhip, and the keeping him ſtill Priſoner for a few Acts of Rage, that had been fatal to a very few Perſons: And even our *Court* gave the firſt Countenance to it, though of all others, the *late King* had the moſt reaſon to have done it at leaſt laſt of all; ſince it juſtified a younger Brother's ſupplanting the Elder; yet the Evidence of the thing carried it even againſt Intereſt. Therefore, if a King goes about to ſubvert

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the Government, and to overturn the whole Constitution, he by this must be supposed either to fall from his Power, or at least from the Exercise of it, so far as that he ought to be put under Guardians; and according to the Case of *Portugal*, the next Heir falls naturally to be the Guardian.

XVI. The next Thing to be considered, is, to see in Fact, whether the Foundations of this Government have been struck at, and whether those Errors, that have been perhaps committed, are only such Maleversations, as ought to be imputed only to Humane Frailty, and to the Ignorance, Inadvertencies, or Passions, to which all Princes may be subject, as well as other Men. But this will best appear if we consider what are the Fundamental Points of our *Government*, and the chief Securities that we have for our *Liberties*.

The Authority of the Law is indeed all in one Word; so that if the King pretends to a Power to dispense with Laws, there is nothing left upon which the *Subject* can depend; and yet as if Dispensing Power were not enough, if Laws are wholly suspended for all time coming, this is plainly a repealing of them, when likewise the Men, in whose hands the Administration of Justice is put by Law, such as Judges and Sheriffs, are allowed to tread all Laws under foot, even those that infer an Incapacity on themselves if they violate them; this is such a breaking of the whole Constitution, that we can no more have the Administration of Justice, so that it is really a Dissolution of the Government; since all Trials, Sentences, and the Executions of them, are become so many unlawful Acts, that are null and void of themselves.

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The next thing in our Constitution, which secures to us our Laws and Liberties, is a free and lawful *Parliament*. Now, not to mention the breach of the Law of *Triennial Parliaments*, it being above three Years since we had a Session that enacted any Law; Methods have been taken, and are daily a taking, that render this impossible. Parliaments ought to be chosen with an entire Liberty, and without either Force or Pre-ingagements: whereas, if all Men are required beforehand to enter into Engagements how they will Vote if they are chosen themselves, or how they will give their Voices in the Electing of others? This is plainly such a Preparation to a Parliament, as would indeed make it no *Parliament*, but a *Cabal*; if one were chosen, after all that Corruption of Persons, who had pre-ingaged themselves; and after the Threatning and Turning out of all Persons out of Imployments, who had refused to do it; and if there are such daily Regulations made in the Towns, that it is plain those who manage them, intend at last to put such a number of Men in the Corporations as will certainly chuse the Persons who are recommended to them. But above all, if there are such a number of Sheriffs and Mayors made over *England*, by whom the Elections must be conducted and returned, who are now under an Incapacity by Law, and so are no Legal Officers; and by consequence, those Elections that pass under their Authority, are null and void: If, I say, it is clear that things are brought to this, then the Government is dissolved, because it is impossible to have a *Free and Legal Parliament* in this state of things. If then both the Authority of the Law, and the Constitution of the Parliament are struck at and dissolved, here is a plain

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Subversion of the whole Government. But if we enter next into the particular branches of the Government, we will find the like Disorder among them all.

The Protestant Religion, and the Church of *England*, make a great Article of our Government, the latter being secured not only of old by *Magna Charta*, but by many special Laws made of late; and there are particular Laws made in King *Charles* the First, and the late King's time, securing them from all Commissions that the King can raise for Judging or Censuring them: if then, in opposition to this, a Court so condemned is erected, which proceeds to judg and censure the Clergy, and even to dissaise them of their Free-holds, without so much as the form of a Trial, though this is the most indispensable Law of all those that secures the Property of *England*; and if the King pretends that he can require the Clergy to publish all his Arbitrary Declarations, and in particular one that strikes at their whole Settlement; and has ordered Process to be begun against all that disobey'd this illegal Warrant; and has treated so great a number of the Bishops as Criminals, only for representing to him the Reasons of their not obeying him: if likewise the King is not satisfied to profess his own Religion openly, though even that is contrary to Law, but has sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, and received Nuncios from thence, which is plainly Treason by Law; if likewise many Popish-Churches and Chappels have been publickly opened; if several Colleges of Jesuits have been set up in divers parts of the Nation, and one of the *Order* has been made a Privy-Counsellor, and a principal Minister of State: and if Papists, and even those who turn to that Religion, though declared Traitors by Law,

Law, are brought into all the chief Employments, both Military and Civil; then it is plain, That all the Rights of the *Church of England*, and the whole Eſtabliſhment of the *Proteſtant Religion*, are ſtruck at, and deſigned to be overturned: ſince all theſe things, as they are notoriouſly illegal, ſo they evidently demonſtrate, That the great Deſign of them all, is the rooting out of this *peſtilent Hereſy*, in their ſtile; I mean the *Proteſtant Religion*.

In the next place; If in the whole Courſe of Juſtice, it is viſible, that there is a conſtant practiſing upon the Judges; that they are turned out upon their varying from the Intentions of the Court; and if Men of no Reputation nor Abilities are put in their Places; if an Army is kept up in time of Peace, and Men who withdraw from that illegal Service, are hanged up as Criminals, without any colour of Law, which by conſequence are ſo many Murders; and if the Soldiery are connived at and encouraged in the moſt enormous Crimes, that ſo they may be thereby prepared to commit greater ones, and from ſingle Rapes and Murders proceed to a Rape upon all our Liberties, and a Deſtruction of the Nation: if, I ſay, all theſe things are true in Fact, then it is plain, that there is ſuch a Diſſolution of the Government made, that there is not any one Part of it left ſound and entire: and if all theſe things are done now, it is eaſy to imagine what may be expected, when Arbitrary Power that ſpares no Man, and Popery that ſpares no Heretick, are finally eſtabliſhed: Then we may look for nothing but Gaballes, Tailles, Impoſitions, Benevolences, and all ſorts of illegal Taxes, as from the other we may expect Burnings, Maſſacres and Inquiſitions. In what

is doing in *Scotland*, we may gather what is to be expected in *England*; where if the King has over and over again declared, that he is vested with an *Absolute Power*, to which all are bound to obey without reserve, and has upon that annulled almost all the Acts of Parliament that passed in K. *James* the First's Minority, though they were ratified by himself when he came to be of age, and were confirmed by all the subsequent Kings, not excepting the present. We must then conclude from thence, what is resolved on here in *England*, and what will be put in execution as soon as it is thought that the Times can bear it. When likewise the whole Settlement of *Ireland* is shaken, and the Army that was raised, and is maintained by Taxes, that were given for an Army of *English Protestants*, to secure them from a new Massacre by the *Irish Papists*, is now all filled with *Irish Papists*, as well as almost all the other Imployments; it is plain, That not only all the *British Protestants* inhabiting that Island, are in daily danger of being Butchered a second time, but that the *Crown of England* is in danger of losing that Island, it being now put wholly into the Hands and Power of the Native *Irish*; who as they formerly offered themselves up sometimes to the Crown of *Spain*, sometimes to the *Pope*, and once to the Duke of *Lorrain*; so they are perhaps at this present treating with another *Court* for the Sale and Surrender of the *Island*, and for the Massacre of the *English* in it.

If thus all the several Branches of our Constitution are dissolved, it might be at least expected, that one part should be left entire, and that is the *Regal Dignity*; and yet even that is prostituted, when we see a *young Child* put in the Reversion of it, and pretended to be

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the *Prince of* Wales: concerning whoſe being born of the *Queen*, there appear to be not only no certain Proofs, but there are all the Preſumptions that can poſſible be imagined to the contrary. No Proofs were ever given either to the *Princeſs of Denmark*, or to any other *Proteſtant Ladies*, in whom we ought to repoſe any Confidence, that the Queen was ever with Child; that whole Matter being managed with ſo much Myſteriouſneſs, that there were violent and publick Suſpicions of it before the Birth. But the whole Contrivance of the Birth, the Sending away the Princeſs of *Denmark*, the ſudden Shortning of the *Reckoning*, the *Queen's* ſudden going to S. *James*'s, her no leſs ſudden pretended *Delivery*; the Hurrying the *Child* into another Room, without Shewing it to thoſe preſent, and without their Hearing it cry; and the myſterious Conduct of all ſince that time; no Satisfaction being given to the Princeſs of *Denmark* upon her Return from the *Bath*, nor to any other *Proteſtant Ladies*, of the *Queen's* having been really brought to Bed. Theſe are all ſuch evident Indications of a baſe Impoſture, in this matter, that as the Nation has the juſteſt reaſon in the World to doubt of it, ſo they have all poſſible reaſon to be at no quiet till they ſee a *Legal* and *Free Parliament* aſſembled; which may impartially, and without either Fear or Corruption, examine that whole Matter.

If all theſe Matters are true in Fact, then I ſuppoſe no Man will doubt, that the whole Foundations of this Government, and all the moſt ſacred Parts of it, are overturned. And as to the Truth of all theſe Suppoſitions, that is left to every *Engliſh-man's* Judgment and Senſe.

FINIS.